2009

83. Elizabeth Meehan, *From Conflict to Consensus: The Legacy of the Good Friday Agreement - the British-Irish and European Contexts*

Since the EU is relevant to the Good Friday Agreement as a whole, the paper starts by touching upon how it both facilitated the Agreement and, yet, also hindered Strand 2 (North-South relations). Strand 3 (the British-Irish context) was itself a means of overcoming obstacles in the other strands. It involved few major obstacles but the paper outlines those that there were. It discusses the British Irish Inter-Governmental Conference and the British Irish Council. It also discusses two networks that are not part of the Agreement but are part of east-west relations: the Joint Ministerial Committee system and the British Irish Inter-Parliamentary Body. In conclusion, the paper sets the Agreement in the context of the overall programme of devolution in the UK. It is argued that this, combined with the displacement of the UUP by the DUP, could either problematize Strand 3 or enhance its significance for Northern Ireland and in overall east-west relations.


Sir George Quigley, *Opening Address*

Tony Kennedy, *Has Devolution Delivered a Shared Society in Northern Ireland?*

Martin Mansergh, *TD, Closing Address*

These three papers are taken from the IBIS Conference ‘The Impact of Devolution on Everyday Life: 1999-2009’.


This paper examines the impact of cross-border cooperation on everyday life in an era of devolution since 1999. The argument is made that the island of Ireland has moved from the process of fracture and friction that Conor Brady memorably described for the period after 1920 into a more collaborative relationship between North and South. The paper details the work of the North-South institutions since 1999 with a particular emphasis on the work of InterTradeIreland. At the everyday level it draws on statistical sources to reflect on developments within areas such as cross-border tourism, trade and student flows. In each it can be seen as a case of “some work done, more to do”.


This paper examines the everyday lives of Northern Irish evangelicals since the Belfast Agreement of 1998. Drawing on more than 100 semi-structured interviews with evangelicals (conducted between 2002-2007), we explore the relationship between macro-level social and political changes and individuals’ religious change. While recognising the importance of macro-level factors in leading evangelicals to a privatisation, moderation or transformation of their faith, we argue that the importance of micro-level, subcultural factors in contributing to change has been underestimated. Thus we sketch out the main elements of a Northern Irish evangelical subculture, exploring how it has contributed to change—especially in directions we describe as converting, conserving and exiting. We conclude that a fuller understanding of individual religious change requires an appreciation of how these macro-level and micro-level factors intersect. In the context of the religiously-plural public sphere which is developing in Northern Ireland, we argue that evangelicals have more flexibility and specifically religious resources for political engagement than has been previously supposed.

In September 2008 the Institute for Conflict Research (ICR) published the findings of a seventeen-month research study funded by the Community Relation’s Council through the European Special Support Programme for Peace and Reconciliation (Hamilton et al, 2008). The primary aim of the research was to analyse the ways and means that sectarianism and segregation are sustained and extended through the routine and mundane decisions that people make in their everyday lives. This paper summarises some of the key aspects and outcomes of this research. The paper begins with a brief introductory overview of the aims and objectives of the study, and offers a brief review of the wider theoretical and methodological context of the research. The second part of the paper focuses on methodological issues involved in researching issues related to sectarianism and segregation, it discusses some of the methodological approaches utilised in the research and analyses some of the challenges encountered by the researchers during the course of the study. Finally the third second part of the paper presents some of the key findings which have been generated from the overall study and which highlights something of the developing nature of sectarianism and segregation in Northern Ireland ten years after the signing of the Agreement.

88. Elizabeth Meehan and Fiona Mackay, A “New Politics” of Participation?
This paper outlines developments in participatory politics in Northern Ireland and draws some comparisons with Scotland. The section on Northern Ireland covers traditions of civic activism which led to efforts to ensure that women activists and the voluntary and community sectors in general would be able to shape the “normalization” of politics and to continue to contribute in the new polity. In particular, it examines the fate of the Civic Forum and the role of Section 75 of the Northern Ireland Act as a form of inclusive policy-making. In making some comparisons with Scotland, the paper looks at similarities and differences in contexts, procedures/institutions and impacts. In conclusion it identifies issues and questions that need to be addressed for there truly to be a “new politics” of participation. The paper suggests that, while high expectations in Scotland for “new politics” have been somewhat disappointed, there is evidence of some change but that the situation may be less promising in Northern Ireland.

89. Siobhan Byrne, Women and the Transition from Conflict in Northern Ireland: Lessons for Peace-Building in Israel/Palestine
When we take the experiences of women seriously, the lessons that we can draw from the Northern Ireland peace process for future peace tracks in the Middle East are not necessarily the same lessons that are highlighted in popular comparisons of the conflicts in the press, by politicians and in the conflict resolution literature. Some of the challenges that Northern Ireland, in general, and feminist peace activists, more specifically, have faced in the post-conflict period may also surface in a future post-conflict period for Israel and in a new Palestinian state, given the similar actors involved and elite model of conflict resolution that is preferred there, as elsewhere.
In this paper, I argue that the successful inclusion of women in the Northern Ireland peace process and the world class commitments to human rights and equality enshrined in the final peace deal have all been important (but often ignored) elements of the peace in Northern Ireland. As well, the conservatism in the post-Agreement period in Northern Ireland, which has thwarted some of the efforts to advance important social policy issues, along with the poor representation of women in Northern Ireland’s new political institutions more than a decade after the peace agreement was signed are similarly unlikely to inform prescriptions for Middle East peace. In my view, the experiences of women, who are located largely within the informal sector, can offer important insight into how we come to understand and define security and also how we come to assess the kinds of changes that will improve security for “ordinary citizens” in a post-conflict period.

The Irish experience of public service reform provides a unique case study of institutional change and resilience, and offers new perspectives on public service reform in “Anglo-Saxon” administrative systems. The data used for this paper provides for new perspectives on how we understand a core aspect of the Irish state, and how we can conceptualise attempts to reform it. Using insights from organisational and neo-institutional theory, and drawing on data
from the new Mapping the State database, this paper identifies drivers of administrative reform during the period 1958-2008 as well as key periods of institutional change that determined the trajectory of reform processes. The paper considers the effects of Irish economic reform in the late 1950s on the public administration, culminating in the work of the Public Service Organisation Review Group (1966-69). It also examines the emerging influence of market and new right ideas in the 1980s and the consequences of the application of new public management styles to Ireland. Particular attention is paid to the public service reform agenda following the Strategic Management Initiative (1994) and concludes with an analysis of the recent OECD review of the Irish public service.

91. Frank Barry, Agricultural Interests and Irish Trade Policy Over the Last Half-Century: A Tale Told Without Recourse to Heroes
Irish accounts of the demise of protectionist thinking in the late 1950s and early 1960s emphasise the importance of the disastrous economic performance of the 1950s and the policy learning that it engendered. Other small peripheral European economies such as Finland and Portugal also abandoned protectionism at the same time however, despite much stronger economic performances over the decade. The present paper identifies the formation of EFTA as the common underlying factor, and traces how all the subsequent twists and turns in Irish trade policy can be understood as the playing out of dominant agricultural interests. Once Ireland joined the European Community, for example, it turned protectionist again. The analysis forces one to think more carefully about the role of leadership and ideas in economic policy-making.

92. Graham Brownlow, Fabricating Economic Development
This paper is concerned with the institutions of Irish economics; it is structured around two arguments each of which links to the thesis presented in Garvin’s Preventing the future (2004). Overall it will be demonstrated that Irish economics was shaped by intellectual trends experienced within economic thought globally as well as the social considerations that were peculiar to Ireland. The evidence presented indicates that firstly while Economic Development mattered to the Irish economy it did not matter for the reasons that most writers have suggested it did. It is argued for instance that much of the literature, regardless of academic discipline, presents the publication of Economic Development in 1958 as analogous to a “big bang” event in the creation of modern Ireland. However, such a “big bang” perspective misrepresents the sophistication of economic debates prior to Whitaker’s report as well as distorting the interpretation of subsequent developments. The paper secondly, by drawing on the contents of contemporary academic journals, reappraises Irish economic thinking before and after the publication of Economic Development. It is argued that an economically “liberal” approach to Keynesianism, such as that favoured by TK Whitaker and George O’Brien, lost out in the 1960s to a more interventionist approach: only later did a more liberal approach to macroeconomic policy triumph. The rival approaches to academic economics were in turn linked to wider debates on the influence of religious authorities on Irish higher education. Academic economists were particularly concerned with preserving their intellectual independence and how a shift to planning would keep decisions on resource allocation out of the reach of conservative political and religious leaders.

93. Bryan Fanning, From Developmental Ireland to Migration Nation: Immigration and Shifting Rules of Belonging in the Republic of Ireland
This paper emphasises how post-1950s Irish developmentalism fostered the economic, social and political acceptance of large-scale immigration following EU enlargement in 2004. It argues that economic imperatives alone cannot account for the national interest case for large-scale immigration that prevailed in 2004. It examines the “rules of belonging” deemed to pertain to citizens and immigrants within the key policy documents of Irish developmental modernisation and recent key policy documents which address immigration and integration. Similar developmental expectations have been presented as applying to Irish and immigrants alike. Irish human capital expanded in a context where ongoing emigration became presented in terms of agency, choice and individual reflexivity. It again expanded considerably due to immigration. It is suggested that in the context of current economic downturn that Ireland has become radically open to migration in both directions.

94. Thomas P Murray, The Curious Case of Socio-Economic Rights
This paper examines the influence of political culture upon constitutional reasoning and deliberation, specifically with regard to answering the question: why have socio-economic rights not received a more effective protection in the Irish Constitution? Beyond the flotsam and jetsam of crusades and campaigns, I suggest, the politics of the Irish Constitution were and remain, intellectual, moral and ontological. What follows therefore represents a considered defence of this position, primarily with a view to demonstrating the need for a politico-sociological examination of the constitution's development. Drawing on the classic account of constitutional change, namely Basil Chubb’s *The Politics of the Irish Constitution* (1991), I question the conventionally static depiction of the constitution's relationship to social justice concerns. Subsequently, I present an alternative way of approaching this relationship provided by Steven Lukes and HLA Hart, an approach that calls our attention to the underlying battle of ideas concerning justice, morality and the source of human rights. Finally, in light of this approach, I re-evaluate just one of the contributions to the debate on constitutional reform, namely Vincent Grogan’s “The Constitution and the Natural Law”. In demonstrating the implicit assumptions of Grogan’s thesis, this paper aims to make clear the potential of this ideational perspective for opening conventional analysis to significant reconsideration.

The role of Patrick Cannon as a developmentalist critic of the educational status quo at the beginning of the 1960s is highlighted by Tom Garvin in *Preventing the Future*. Here the organisation the Headmaster of Sandymount High School led, the Federation of Lay Catholic Secondary Schools, is depicted as coming in from the bureaucratic cold as Jack Lynch brought a more activist, reformist ministerial presence into the Department of Education. But although the reforming trend continued under Lynch’s successor, Patrick Hillery, Cannon and his organisation quickly found themselves operating in a very hostile environment. In 1962 the Department broke off relations with the Federation over its decision to adopt a new title while Hillery publicly accused it of blackening Ireland’s name overseas in a report that applied the same economics of education approach that the Department itself was embracing in collaboration with the OECD.

The catalytic effect of the OECD-linked study that produced *Investment in Education* is a much-celebrated episode of Ireland’s modernisation. A remarkably broad cross-departmental consensus supported the initiative. Bureaucratic caution and ministerial self-preservation were set aside to allow a “warts and all” portrait of Irish education to be painted by the study team. Special efforts were made to focus public attention on the findings of a damning report that legitimated a quickening pace of government action to increase access to an expanded, rationalised and reoriented education system. But, as well as developmentalist triumph over conservatism in the education field, there was also significant division between state and civil society developmentalists which a case study of the relationship between the secondary schools’ federation led by Cannon and the Department of Education enables us to explore.

96. Tom Garvin, *Dublin Opinions: Dublin Newspapers and the Crisis of the Fifties*  
Dublin journalism was well served by three national newspapers and a coterie of weeklies and irregular publications during the period 1948-1962. In this paper, the different “takes” on the perceived crisis in the Irish economy and polity of the mid-fifties are analysed. It is concluded that the *Irish Independent* and the *Irish Times* adhered to almost identical positions of agrarian fundamentalism until very late on during this crucial decade in Ireland’s political and economic development. It is also argued that the case for non-farm employment as Ireland’s true future was most consistently and energetically made by the *Irish Press*, essentially the mouthpiece of Sean Lemass, Minister for Industry and Commerce from 1945 to 1948, 1951 to 1954, 1957 to 1959 and Taoiseach thereafter. The awareness that Ireland had to diversify economically was behind the foundation in 1949-50 of the Industrial Development Authority under the auspices of Daniel Morrissey of Fine Gael. All major parties were deeply divided on the issue of economic development. It is also concluded that the sense of a real social and cultural crisis was intense at the time, and the awareness that an old Ireland had to die that a new one might be born was strong.
97. North-South Relations after the Boom: The Impact of the Credit Crunch on Mutual Relations and Understandings.
Martin Mansergh, TD, Opening Address
Jeffrey Donaldson, MP, MLA, Keynote Speech
John Bradley, Response
These three papers are taken from the IBIS conference of the same name.